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### ON SOME QUANTITIES IN PHAEDRUS.

#### I.—NIHIL AND NIL.

SCHOLARS are agreed that in Latin poets this neuter substantive occurs in three forms of different quantity, nǐhīl, nǐhīl, and nīl¹; but in what circumstances they are not agreed. So for Phaedrus. Lucian Mueller, in his edition of 1877, p. 105, rejects the form nihil in every part of the verse except the final iambus: "Nota Phaedrum semper dicere nil pro nihil praeter finem versus (IV 5. 16; 24. 4)." But M. L. Havet (§ 91 of the Disquisitiones Criticae appended to his edition) is of another opinion. We must therefore examine the evidence anew, and in so doing distinguish between the tradition of the P(ithoeanus) and the lost R(emensis) and the tradition of the Perottine MSS., the N(eapolitanus), and V(aticanus).

### A. Before a consonant.

In two places, for which see below, both the PR tradition and the NV tradition give *nihil* where it is metrically possible.

In the remaining seven places, I 15. 2, III 10. 31, ib. 51, IV 22. 13, V 5. 31, App. 5. 9, 18. 16, nihil is metrically impossible. P(R) gives it, however, in five cases out of five, and NV in two cases also out of five.

nil, and I shall not deal with the question whether the spelling nihil, so common in manuscripts, is a survival (as in dehinc) or an intrusion.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> In what follows I shall consider nothing but the quantity of the words. I shall assume, as is generally assumed, that the monosyllable should be written

## B. Before a vowel.

The places are as follows<sup>1</sup>: III 7. 17, "nihil | est" (PNV); IV 13. 1, "nihil | es" (P); App. 30. 8, "Nihil est" | (NV); IV 2. 2, "nihil | habemus" (P); IV 24. 17, "nihil | habes" (PNV); II 5. 3, "nihil | agens" (P); III 17. 13, "Nihil age | re" (P)<sup>2</sup>; IV 24. 9, "nihil | atque" (PNV); App. 26. 4, "nihil | umquam" (NV). At II 7. 12 NV give "nihil | amisi," but P "nil"; and at V 5. 20 P gives "Nihil est" |, but V "Nil est". At II 8. 11, where P gives "nec ideo," NV "nihil" only, the received correction is "nihil (or 'nil') | adeo."

Summing up, we see that in eight out of ten places in which Phaedrus may be presumed to have used the word before vowels, PR give nihil, in one nil, and in the remaining one nec; while in seven out of eight places NV give nihil, and in one nil (V). In all these places Mueller reads nil, and, having regard to the facts that PR give nihil for nil in every case where a consonant follows, and that NV do the same in two cases out of five, we cannot call him unreasonable. But inasmuch as we can scan with nihil in at least every place but one, and since the assumption that an original nihil was left uncorrupted in every passage but two is prima facie tenable, for further direction we must look outside Phaedrus.

An examination of the quantity of nihil/nil before a vowel cannot avoid a reference to Lachmann's dictum on Lucr. 1. 159, and in Kl. Schr. II, p. 59, that Ovid did not use nihil in this position. It is now twenty-seven years since I protested against that dictum, as others had done

Cambridge Philological Society on May 5, 1892, and published in brief abstract in its *Proceedings*, XXXI-III, p. 7.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The upright line marks the end of a foot.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> I take no account of the interpolation at the beginning of IV 24.

<sup>3</sup> In a short paper read before the

before me. And it gratifies me to observe that Professor Housman's attitude towards it has passed from acceptance to doubt (Classical Quarterly, 1916, p. 138)1 and from doubt to rejection (Classical Review, 1919, p. 57). His treatment of the matter is worthy of attention. He finds that there are eighteen lines of Ovid in which this word constitutes the latter half of the first foot, and it is given by the MSS. as nihil, and three only, Met. 13. 266, Fast. 1. 445, and Ibis 284, in which it appears as nil; and he maintains that in these three verses also nihil should be read with Heinsius. The effect of this will be to give a dactyl in every first foot where the word occurs, and Mr. Housman is of opinion that this was its motive also. "His [Ovid's] only imaginable motive [my italics] was to procure a dactyl instead of a spondee for the first foot." Further on he adduces instances where in the second, third, and fourth feet of hexameters the same word precedes a vowel, and where the MSS., or the best part of them (in one place, Met. 15, 165, about a half), favour the form nihil. instances amount to thirty. By needlessly restricting his imagination Mr. Housman has failed to perceive the connexion between his two series of instances, and to divine the significance of the poet's behaviour, who was

<sup>1</sup> In a paper containing excellent suggestions for the improvement of the text of Ovid, but handling ex Pont. II 5. 11 sq. "optastique breuem salui mihi Caesaris iram | quod tamen optari si sciat ipse sinat" (so the MSS.), with odd negligence or perversity. Much discontent has been felt with the hexameter. But it is here contended that "all is well, and the conjectures are all aimed at the one word" [salui] " which must on no account be altered." and this for the reason that the prayer that Caesar's anger might be short contains "a dangerous ambiguity," since "one way to shorten Cacsar's

anger is to shorten Caesar's life." One might suppose from this that no pentameter followed the hexameter, or that this too contained a dangerous ambiguity, as Caesar might approve of a prayer for his own demise. As an objection to the breui solui, which I had proposed, and Mr. S. G. Owen accepted, the argument is still more out of place, as in the parallel adduced in its defence, Met. 9. 274 sq. "neque adhuc Stheneleius iras soluerat Eurystheus," the phrase is used of a living person. Salui then remains suspicious, being at best but a clumsy superfluity.

not pursuing a dactyl, but avoiding nil. Neither before a vowel nor before a consonant, neither as part of a dactyl nor of a spondee (I may cite in illustration Fasti. 6. 124, 125, "Nil agis"; Pont. I 7. 20, "Nil demit"; IV 9. 126, "Nil illi") is nil excluded from the first foot of either hexameter or pentameter; but both in it and in the three following feet its use in the "fall" of the foot is subject to restriction to which it is not subject in the "rise." It may precede a consonant; but it may not precede a vowel. When the eighteen instances from the first foot are reinforced by the thirty from the following ones, we have forty-eight conformers to but three recalcitrants—an increase in the ratio which far more than justifies the removal of the latter, notwithstanding the comparative infrequency of the corruption of nihil to nil, whose ratio Holder, Epilegomena zu Horaz on Epist. II 1. 17, estimates as two to eleven of the converse corruption.

To this Ovidian rule that nil may be used in the "rise" of a foot before both vowels and consonants, but in the "fall" before consonants only, I have found but few exceptions in all the verse writers that I have examined. Catullus, Tibullus, Propertius appear to observe it; so also Martial. The scazon of the latter, I 10. 3, "adeone pulchra est? immo foediús níl est," is of course in order. VERGIL'S practice may be seen at Aen. 11. 227 sq. "nihil omnibus actum... nil dona neque aurum" (cf. Buc. 8. 103). He has but one example of nil before a vowel as against some fifteen of nihil (for the "nil urbibus" of  $P_{\gamma}b$ , at Aen. 10. 54, may be disregarded), and that is in the "rise" G. 3. 42, "nil altum." HORACE uses both forms frequently. And a full statement of his usage may be of interest. Nihil appears twenty-three times before a vowel (nine times

room for misconception than any of the current ones.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> I adopt these terms from Professor Sonnenschein, *Classical Philology*, VI (1911), p. 9, note, as affording less

before a consonant); nil appears forty times before a consonant, twenty-three times before a vowel in the rise, five before one in the fall. These five are S. II. 2. 29, "distat nil, hac magis illa"; ib. 6. 4, "nil amplius oro"; Epist. 1 2. 46, "nil amplius" (where nihil also is well supported), with two examples in Epist. II 1; 17, "nil oriturum alias nil ortum tale fatentes," 31, "nil intra est olea, nil extra est in nuce duri," where a special reason may be discerned. For Horace avoids the variation between nihil and nil in juxtaposition which Vergil has in the passages cited above, and of which Mr. Housman, Classical Review, l.c., has given other examples: see Epist. I 1. 88; 8. 8; II 1. 65. LUCAN, at 8. 315 sq., has "nihil haec in membra cruente | nil socerum fecisse pie." But he does not seem to have excluded nil before a vowel from the "fall." 7.88; 8. 858; 10. 96; ib. 366, for all of which nihil is weakly attested. Nihil, on the other hand, in 1. 37; 2. 515; 3. 371; 7. 666; 7. 268; 8. 315; 10. 189, possibly also in 6. 819, 8. 665. JUVENAL (if I have reckoned aright) uses nihil nineteen times: five before consonants and fourteen before vowels. Nil he uses thirty-one times: twenty-one before consonants and eight times before vowels, twice also at the end of a line (a perfectly ambiguous position). There remain three places about which doubt might be felt. In 7.54, "qui nihil expositum" (nil the Pithoeanus in isolation) is, as Mr. Housman has shown, Classical Review, 1.c., p. 58b, undoubtedly to be preferred. There remain 6. 58, "quis tamen adfirmat nil (PFOU, nihil AGLT) actum in mensibus aut in | speluncis?" and 15. 87 sq. "sed qui mordere cadauer | sustinuit nil (PAFOT, nihil GLU) umquam hac carne libentius edit," on which he comments, "nihil AGLT ut solet Iuuenalis in altero semipede ante uocalem; hic

first syllable of the Alcaic, "nil interest an," Carm. II 3. 22.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> He has also two examples of *nil* as the last syllable of a hexameter, *Epist.* I 12. 5, 15. 33, and one as the

tamen et XV 88 Pithoeanus sequendus uidetur propter numeros." As I cannot divine what are the "numeri" supporting nil to the overthrow of those conceded to support nihil "ut solet," etc., I am disposed to regard it as not improbable that Juvenal did not deviate from the rhythm which he has used nine times elsewhere, and which here has respectable MS. support.

Manilius, as Lachmann has noted, uses nihil only (thirteen times), in sharp contrast to Lucretius, who does not use the dissyllable at all. This consistency in diction, which approves them writers of a now unfashionable type, prevents us also from citing them as witnesses for the purpose in hand. But an examination of the usage of Lucretius, which I made with the assistance of Paulson's Index Lucretianus, gives some curious and, as I think, not uninstructive results. Lucretius has nil, nominative and accusative, ninety-three times; sixty-five times in "rise" and twenty-eight times in the "fall." But this noticeable preference of nil for the "rise" is not all. There is a marked disparity in the distribution of the two cases. It will, I imagine, be admitted that nominatives carry more weight than accusatives, and particularly so if these are nominatives of neuter words, such being but rarely allowed to function as subjects in ancient speech. If there is weight in this consideration, it would appear that a feeling for balance will naturally place the weaker case where it will be reinforced by the stronger position, while the stronger case will be allowed whichever position may for other reasons be convenient. And we find that out of fifty-eight accusatives, forty-six are in the "rise" and but twelve in the "fall"; and that out of thirty-five nominatives, nineteen are in the "rise" and as many as sixteen in the "fall."

To some perhaps all this may seem artificial; but it must not be assumed to be arbitrary. There is nothing

novel in the view that the "rise" and the "fall" were treated diversely. For example, Vergil and other contemporary poets allow the final syllable of the 3rd person singular of verbs to stand as long in the "rise" but not in the "fall." They permit, e.g., essét, but not ésset (as Ennius), to count as two long syllables.

The clue which we have sought in this digression may now be applied to the text of Phaedrus. Of the twelve passages cited on p. 53, nine have the word in the "rise" of the foot and three in the "fall." In one of the former, II. 7. 12, P gives "nam nil amisi," while the Perottine MSS. present "quod nihil amisi," which editors have done well to reject, since, in view of P's constant preference for nihil, nil is much more likely to have been accidentally left than nihil corrupted, and since unfaithfulness in NV is already proved by the alteration of "nam" to "quod." In this passage, and the eight remaining, nil, I think, should be read. In the other three passages nihil, on the contrary, may well be retained, and V's solitary nil at V. 5. 20 disregarded. The preponderance of nihil in our MSS. does not really need explanation when we consider that it has ousted nil almost entirely from the MSS. of Lucretius: see Lachmann, l.c. But we may observe that the confusion would be facilitated if both nihil and nil were in the text of Phaedrus, and the copyists, perplexed to see both forms before vowels, assimilated them in accordance with the practice recommended in the dictum of Seruius on Aen. 6. 104.

There remain two passages where L. Mueller changes a *nihil* of the vulgate which is neither plainly unmetrical nor followed by a vowel.

The first is IV. 24. 16, "nihil laboras, ideo cum opus est, nil habes," where for "ideo cum" PNV have "ideoque." Mueller conflates both lections, and transposes the first two words of the line, reading "laboras nil; ideoque cum opus

est." The change is a complicated one, nor is it obviously necessary. We cannot discuss it without reference to the second passage, III. 10. 27 sq., thus corruptly given in PR:

ut sentit tonsum, gladio pectus transigit nihil in respiciendum dolorem uindicet.

The Perottine MSS. offer "nihil respiciens dum," accepted by most editors, and giving an example exactly similar to the last. Since, however, this leaves the *in* of PR unaccounted for, Mueller proposed "introspiciens," and, of course, *nil* for "nihil"; and M. Havet has accepted *introspiciens*, but rejected *nil*. In itself, however, the *respiciens* which NV give, and PR indicate, is intrinsically much better than what is offered in its stead. And if account is to be taken of *in*, as indeed seems reasonable, I would suggest "*nil iam* respiciens," the *iam* expressing the climax of the jealous husband's fury. If *nihil* may be kept here, *nihil* is safe also in IV 24. 16. If not, it will still be rash to deny to Phaedrus a combination which Horace, Vergil, and Ovid, to say nothing of others, by no means eschewed.

### II.--VESPERTILIO.

This word occurs in a Phaedrian fable, which I have endeavoured, in the *Classical Quarterly*, 1918, p. 159, to restore to its original form. Its quantity is generally taken to be *uespertīlio*, on the strength of *de Philomela* 39, "strix nocturna sonans et uespertīlio stridunt," Baehrens,

consonants and of *nihil* for vowels, which Seruius, l.c., had observed, reminds us of the similar dispositions of ac and atque, and prompts the conjecture that nil, like ac, arose from syncopation before a following consonant; compare Sommer, Handbuch, p. 292.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Seneca would be one of these, but I have omitted his name from the text, as I can find little to show whether in iambics his preference was for *nihil* or *nil* in different parts of the foot.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> It was no part of my task to consider the connexion of the two forms *nihil* and *nil*. But it may be worth noting that the affection of *nil* for

P. L. M. v. 365. This composition of seventy lines must accordingly be examined.

Its monkish author (l. 69, "Cuncta tamen Domino depromunt munera laudis | seu semper sileant siue sonare queant") is a versifier whose quality may be gathered from pentameters such as the following:—"et castus turtūr atque columba gemunt," 20; noctua lucifugā cucubit in tenebris," 40; "sed fugiente die illa quieta solet," 12.

Let us now test his prosody in respect of the names of birds and animals that he records. Omitting uespertitio and names like turdus noctua, where mistake was impossible, the record is as follows:—CORRECT—philomela, merulus, anas, pauo, aquilae, pica, cicada, apis, bubo, ululae, regulus, meropo, lupus, aper, onagri, equus, aries, ovis, canis, catulus, lepores, rana, columba, palumbes, accipitres; add partially correct, or doubtful, hĭrundŏ būtiŏ. INCORRECT—ăcredula, grăculus, cīconīa, cucŭli, sŏrex. Facts like these show that our author is but a poor witness for the classical prosody of a comparatively rare word; and if his scansion is based merely on vulgar pronunciation, it is less probable that in that uespertīlio should have been shortened to uespertīlio than uespertīlio lengthened to uespertīlio.

The word itself appears not to have been found elsewhere in Latin, or even base Latin, verse; but it is replaced by periphrases in Serenus Sammonicus 664, "quem dat auis, tremulis simulat quae pellibus alas," and Ovid, Met. 4. 414, "lucemque perosae | nocte uolant seroque tenent a uespere nomen." This might be taken to mean that the name was avoided because uespertīliō, -ōnis, in all its cases was unavailable for dactylic verse. But Serenus shortens final ō whenever he chooses: confunditō, 76; permulcetō, 110; praegnatiō, 615, &c.; and so he might well have used uespertīliō. Ovid, it is true, would not have shortened the -ō; but his periphrasis proves nothing, for another reason. Met. 4.

415 does not show that the Latin name for a "bat" was inadmissible in his verse, any more than Met. 11. 795, "aequor amat nomenque tenet quia mergitur illo," shows that the name of a "diver" mergus was. The author of the Metamorphoses felt himself entitled to use name or periphrasis as he might please, and so the hawk, which is designated in 344 of this book as accipiter, is described in 291 sq. as "hanc uolucrem rapto quae uiuit et omnes terret aues." These two passages, then, throw no light on the quantity of uespertilio.1

For no other Latin word is the *ending* -ilio attested.<sup>2</sup> On the other hand, we have *papilio*, *pumilio*, *upilio*.

Nor have our etymologists succeeded in giving any probable explanation of its formation, or of the i which they have accepted from the metrists. Their attempts may be seen in Walde's Etymological Dictionary, s. u., and the discussions there cited. It seems likely that the word is derived from an adjective \*uespertus, a parallel formation to matutus (mater matuta, matutinus); but nothing further has been ascertained, and, if the ending is -ilio, the word may well have been formed on the analogy of papilio (butterfly or moth) with other words enumerated above.

Having thus cleared our ground, we may approach the question of the reading in Phaedrus. The first three lines as printed in the *Classical Quarterly*, 1. c., are:—

Bellum gerebant uolucres cum quadrupedibus et modo uincebant, uincebantur denuo; at uespertilio dubios euentus timens.

This is the reading accepted by Burman and L. Mueller, but Professor Housman has recently suggested to me-

dubios timens euentus uespertīlio.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> This is also the view of L. Mueller, de re metrica, p. 542.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Cīlio is no exception, as it is a bye form of caelio.

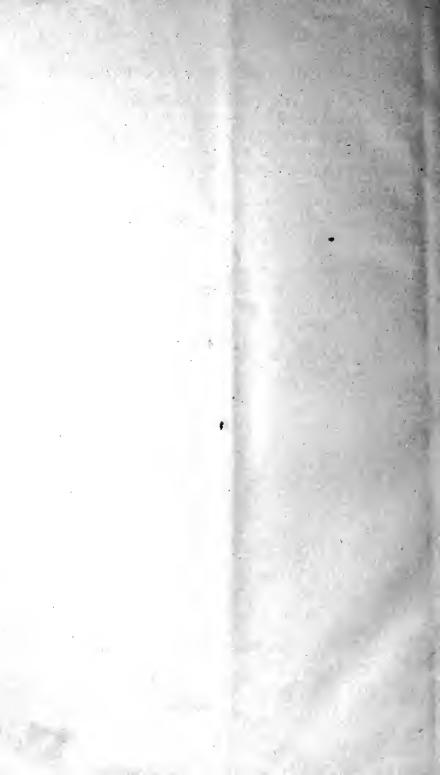
The first of these three lines is in metre, just as it stands in the paraphrase of Ademar. The restoration of the next line is possibly uncertain, but all its restorers make it end coincidently with the sentence. For the third line we have carefully to consider the various versions, that is to say, Ademar's and those of the "Romulus" MSS., that Thiele reports from his recensio Gallicana and his recensio Vetus, pp. 173, 4, 5: compare Hervieux, les fabulistes latins, II<sup>2</sup>, pp. 144, 215. The version of Ademar here, as generally elsewhere, is nearest to Phaedrus. But it has one defect. The fables in it are adorned by drawings, and the scribe had a way of cutting down the text to make more room for the illustrations; compare Thiele's remarks, der illustrierte lateinische Aesop, p. 39. He has done this in the fable before us, in lines 4 and 5 (cp. Classical Quarterly, l.c.). where what he gives us is not enough to make a verse. In these cases we are driven to the "Romulus" MSS., or, failing them, to conjecture. Here Ademar offers "uespertilio dubios euentus timens"; the recensio Gallicana "at uespertilio dubius et graues euentus timens" (with insignificant variants,1 which may be seen in Thiele); the recensio Vetus, in which the traditional text is, as usual, freely edited, "at ubi uespertilio dubius extiterat." These versions, then, agree in recommending "at uespertilio," with the other words in the order of Ademar. clear from the lection "dubius," which, if not right, as it may be, is "dubios" assimilated through its neighbourhood to "uespertilio," "euentus timens" being taken by itself, "fearful of the upshot," and made clearer by the addition of graves. The reader must decide whether, taken in themselves, the readings of the paraphrasts are best explained by Burman's or by Professor Housman's proposal.

<sup>1 &</sup>quot;Timens euentus" should perhaps be mentioned.

Hervieux' collection of Latin fabulists includes three versions of this fable in classical metres. In one of these, Gualterus Anglicus 44, p. 338, periphrasis (presumably from Ovid) is used, "que sumit auis de uespere nomen." In the other two Alexander Neckham's Nouus Aesopus 2 (p. 393),¹ and the collection in a Bodleian MS. of the eleventh century called "ex Romulo Nilantii ortae fabulae metricae," 26, p. 684, the name is used, and it is uespertilio. Neckham's elegiacs, though by no means faultless, are at least not worse than those of Philomela's eulogist; for example, he does not go wrong over graculus. And it seems quite possible that he knew what was the correct pronunciation of uespertilio from reading Phaedrus, or in some other way.

<sup>1</sup>Hervieux prints the text as it stands in the Paris Ms. Lat. 8471, subjoining corrections in his notes, to which we might add at 10. 16 "cum bene patrisses "for "patrires," and 28. 9 sq. "indignans ait illa 'Potes si sola meorum | turbam natorum pellere meque, uide' "for "nido."

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